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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
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Vol. 58, No. 2 **Whole Number 480**

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February, 1951

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Maria E. Hooks, New York City—*Photo by Morgan Smith.*

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NEW POETRY

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■ An analysis of the willingness of the Negro to submit himself to the self-discipline necessary for social integration

Does the Negro Want Integration?

By Lester B. Granger

ON the face of it, the question "Does the Negro want integration?" seems a very silly one. "Of course we want integration," the answer comes back. "Isn't that what we're struggling for?"

But is it? Do we really know what we're struggling for? Are all of us really struggling? Would all of us unanimously, without hesitation, accept "integration" and all that it involves if it were suddenly offered to us tomorrow? The answers to such questions as these are not as simple as they may seem at first.

For one thing, whom do we mean by "the Negro?" Do we mean the younger-aged, the middle-aged, or the older group? Do we mean the high school graduate, the college-trained professional, or the mine, mill, or farm worker? There is no such creature as "the Negro." There are nearly fifteen million Negroes in the United States, which means fifteen million different personalities and many thousands of different kinds of reactions to similar social and economic pressures.

So, if the original question is silly, its chief error lies in trying to lump fifteen million people into one arbitrary classification merely because the skin of most of them happens to be tinged with an overdose of sun. Rather than try to answer the question as phrased, it is better to try to analyze all of the requirements of "social integration" and then hazard a guess as to which types of Negroes are most apt to continue to strive for integration, once these requirements are recognized.

The word "integration" has assumed a new meaning and importance in the American vocabulary within recent years. Its predecessor was "interracial," and before that it was "equality." Whether the term was social equality, interracial or integration, it has met with unvarying and stubborn resistance from the defenders of the status quo in race relations.

LESTER B. GRANGER *is executive director of the National Urban League, New York City.*

Because the status quo depends upon keeping the Negro in his place and not allowing him to get too many bold ideas about changing the traditional American racial system. But while we have adopted a new term for current post-World War usage, many of us have failed to adjust our ideas correspondingly. There is a big difference between equality of Negroes with whites and integration of Negroes into the total American community.

WASHINGTON SCHOOL

One school of equalitarians, previously led by Booker T. Washington, held that the road to equality lay in temporary acceptance of, and capitalization upon, racial separation, building a separate group strength until it could compete on more even terms with the strength of the dominant white majority. Thirty years of following this philosophy led even its devout supporters to realize that, while the idea had some merit and offered a certain kind of progress, that progress led up a blind alley which left the Negro still separated from his white fellow-Americans and still weak because a separated minority must always be weak.

This realizaiton encouraged the idea of interracial association and competition. Such an association breaks down segregation at every possible point, but tolerates "voluntary congregation." In other words, the Negro group takes advantage of such group resources as it has to thrust its members into positons of better advantage, where they may learn from association with whites and bring back the fruits of such association to contribute to a stronger racial group. This philosophy, practiced with increasing earnestness during the Twentieth Century, puts primary emphasis on an abolition of racial segregation and an end to racial discrimination. But its chief concern remains with the Negro group as such. It thinks in terms of a racial strategy which often unconsciously considers the white community as an antagonist to be overcome by frontal attack or carefully calculated guile.

The chief difference between these two schools of thought lies in the emphasis which the first placed upon training for economic self-sufficiency as the foundation of racial advancement and the insistence of the second that the way had to be led by unrestricted development of the Negro race's "talented tenth." Today, in our larger social wisdom we realize that the prolonged controversy between the Booker T. Washington and DuBois schools was largely unreal; that there was no conflict between the two points of view, but that the one merged into the other.

"INTEGRATED SOCIETY"

Today we speak grandly of the "integrated society," but even now that term holds a different connotation for different Negro groups. To the great majority, integration means an absence of racial segregation and discrimination. We describe as "integrated" an employment situation where Negro workers are hired on the basis of their skills, rather than their race. We speak of an integrated Air Force or Navy, in contrast to those branches of the armed services which formerly separated

Negroes from whites in company, battalion, or regimental units. We declare that the Army refuses while its sister branches adopt racial integration.

But this is an over-statement of the case. What the Navy has done is to abolish segregation. Integration has not yet been achieved, for the latter is far more than merely the relaxing of official barriers which debar a Negro from full opportunity. Segregation is an act almost physical in nature. It is imposed upon people by force or the implied threat of force. Few of us have ever met a Negro who willingly and gladly accepts segregation as a way of life. He may learn to live with it, to become reconciled to it. If he is clever enough he may manage to profit from it, and, being human, he is apt to enjoy his profits and to resist an attempt to deprive him of a monetary or positional reward. This is why in some Negro communities we find advocates of things-as-they-are, because of their fear that a different order of affairs will leave them in a personally disadvantaged position.

INTEGRATION SPIRITUAL

Integration, on the other hand, is not physical, but spiritual in nature. It requires, first of all, that barriers to advancement be removed, but it requires moreover that those who have previously been debarred shall move forward freely to take advantage of their new opportunities. But new opportunities are accompanied by new responsibilities. It is possible in a segregated community for Negroes of better than average ability to maintain a protected position of advantage over their fellow-Negroes—to become persons of importance, and sometimes of financial means, because they are competing in a handicap race. When they are removed from the handicap race, where they are competing against their fellows of inferior ability, and thrown into the open race where most experienced and skillful competitors are also entered, they find a different condition. While their abilities may improve in comparison with other Negroes, they lag behind the pace set by the more experienced white competitors. They end up, not first or second in a handicap race, but tenth or eleventh in an open race. And some of them cannot take with good grace this denial of the victor's prize, even though that prize previously was of the second-class variety.

GHETTO PSYCHOLOGY

All of the foregoing has been philosophic. Let us put it in terms of its practical application to the average Negro and especially to the average young Negro of today. First, let us accept the fact that Negro life in general, in the segregated, restricted atmosphere of the typical Negro neighborhood, has become culturally and psychologicaly different from life in the community-at-large. A rural people transplanted to urban living conditons within the past thirty or forty years still retain heavy traces of rural culture because they have never been given a chance to move freely in urban society and become acculturated thereby. A ghetto people have developed psychological reactions to their congested living, their social lacks and their economic deprivations. They

look out upon the surrounding world with sharp hostility. Or they withdraw into themselves with defeated resignation. They become cynical, disillusioned, and sullen; or they become escapist, contradictory and unrealistic. They are somewhat in the position of the hospital patient who has remained on his bed of pain for so long that he has learned first to endure and then to accept hospital routines. When the time comes for his release, he is apt to be frightened and to seek ways of remaining in the protected environment where he has managed to exist, and in the end become moderately comfortable.

NEW HABITS

When we break down barriers of racial segregation and discrimination, this is opening the door to, but not completely accomplishing, integration. Integrated education does not begin with the Supreme Court decision that southern universities must open their doors to colored graduate students. It only offers a chance for the Negro to apply for, acquire and use that graduate education. An integrated job situation is not automatically produced when the employer hires a number of new Negro workers and assigns them solely on the basis of their skills. Integration is a fact when the Negro worker takes advantage of his job to join his union, participate in its activities as a full-fledged member, take more training and address himself to improvement of his job status, support of his union leaders, and his own elevation to leadership if he possesses the necessary qualifications.

Social integration is not a matter merely of an open door policy by restaurants, theatres, clubs and the like. It requires a painstaking, reacculturation process by the young Negro especially. It means learning new speech habits, sometimes shedding rustic mannerisms and methods of dress. It means presenting one's self for friendly associations, as well as being accepted tolerantly by one's new associates.

If we are perfectly honest with ourselves, we will admit that throughout the country there are literally millions of Negroes who are not only unready for such integration, but are also unwilling to undergo the self-discipline and self-denial that are required as a part of the integration process. We say we want it, but we seek to avoid the steps by which we arrive at the goal of our dreams. "Everybody talk about heaven ain't going there," declares the old Negro spiritual. Similarly, everybody who talks about integration does not really want it if it requires too much of a sacrifice on his part personally.

RACIAL THINKING

We Americans have gotten so much in the habit during our three hundred years of bi-racial living, of thinking in terms of racial differences and coloration, that we now choose our friends, plan our careers, establish our homes, and adopt personal attitudes toward each other on the basis of our racial connection primarily. Our fatal insistence upon race as a dividing factor has produced a *disintegrated* society. Our job today—for Negro and white Americans alike—is to prevent further disintegration and promote a positive *integration*. Economic self-improvement plays its part in this

process. Definition and defense of our constitutional rights plays its part also. But the whole job can be done only by the addition of the spiritual factor to this process: the building of self-confidence which is a part of developing confidence in others, the recognition of personal and group lacks which must precede the elimination of our weaknesses, and the correction of our group incapabilities.

AMERICA'S FUTURE

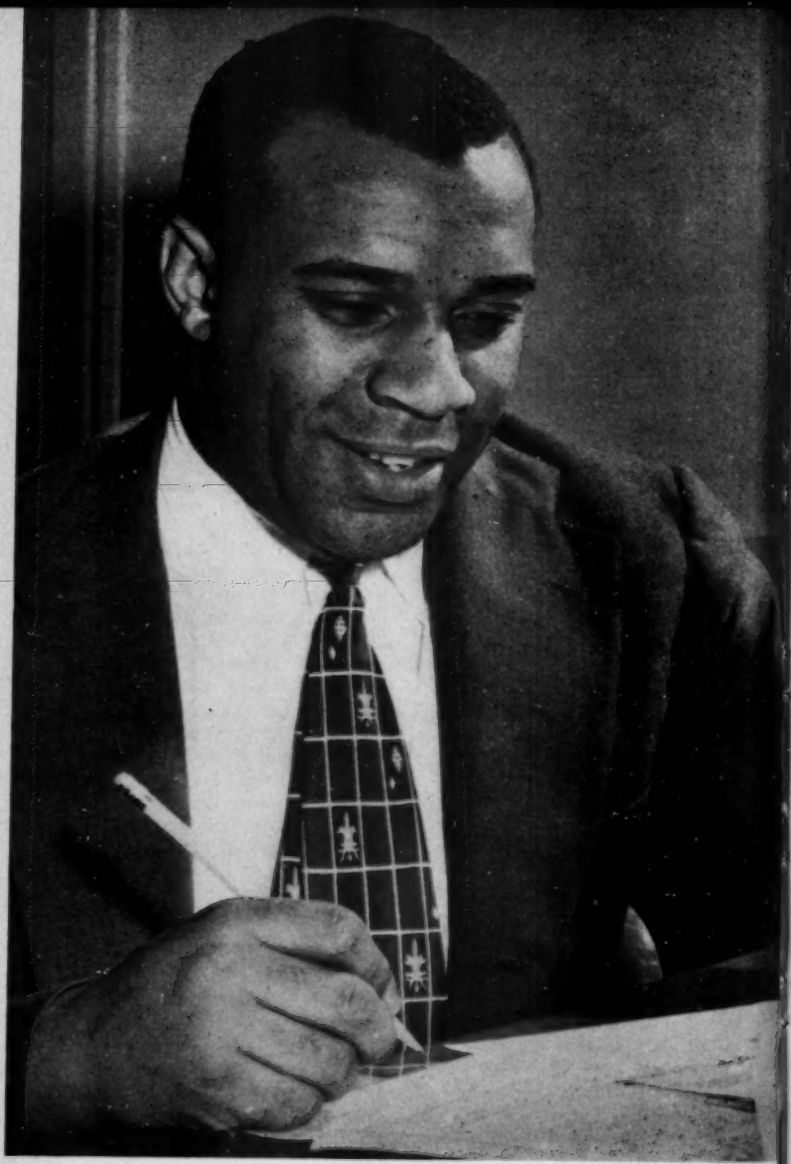
Does the Negro want integration? Some do—and some really don't care. But the future of the Negro race in America, and indeed the future of America as a nation, depends upon our increasing and supporting the number of those who do care, and recognizing that those who do not have no role to play in producing the democratic Negro citizen in the American democracy of tomorrow.

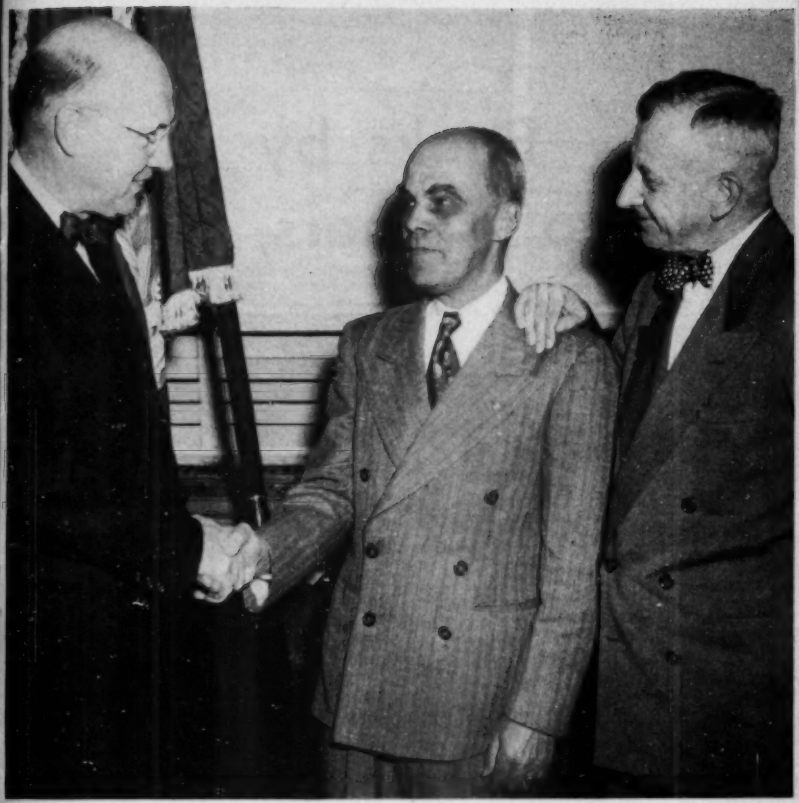
It is not overly unkind to say that it is the exceptionally rare colored American over forty years of age who is able to assume his full share of responsibility for "integration." This is only natural, since the greater part of his life has already been spent in being "disintegrated," and his habits of thinking and patterns of association are already firmly set. He will break out of them with extreme difficulty. This puts the future of integration up to the younger generations, and especially those of student age. The young man or woman in the early twenties whose social life is restricted to the Negro "party," whose entertainment world is bounded by the limits of the Negro neighborhood, whose "jive talk" is understood with difficulty and who insists upon the "zoot-suit" touch in dress—that young person isn't ready to begin integrative steps. And even when speech, associations and dress habits have become more urbane, a reconditioning job sometimes needs to be done emotionally. Less of the chip-on-shoulder attitude, more curiosity about how other people think and act (and why), less hanging back and waiting for invitations, but more freely going forward and joining the activities of others. All this is part of it.

STROKING WOUNDS

But even more than all this, integration of the Negro into full American living must be preceded by an understanding on his part of the nature and requirements of the total community's life. Too many of us are still fighting the Civil War, just like the most reactionary Southern Bourbon. While we are stroking old wounds, we lose opportunities that are open to us. While we are "rabble-rousing" against conditions over which we have no direct control, we ignore the development of conditions that affect us and that we might control if we try in time.

Integration demands perspective, deliberate self-discipline and a sense of proportion. Which is to say that by no means all of us (or even a majority of us) want integration at this time, but progress has always been achieved by the foresight and leadership of a few, and in the end the great mass of people will follow. The question is, are our young people ready with their leadership?





USDA by Matthews

USDA OFFICAL RETIRES—*Raymond J. Weir (center), who retired in January from a high administrative post in the U. S. Department of Agriculture after 40 years of service, says "goodbye" to Secretary Charles Brannan and Arthur Thatcher, director of plant and operations. Mr. Weir, who served as assistant to the latter, rose to that position from seed-weigher, through 35 promotions.*

SCORES ANOTHER FIRST—*Levi Jackson, 24, who made a name as the first Negro to play football for Yale, fills out forms for Ford Motor Company. He has joined Ford Company as the first Negro to represent the company on the review board which arbitrates grievances between union and management.*

■ Paragraph reviews for the guidance of *Crisis* readers

Books by Negro Authors, 1950

By *Arthur B. Spingarn*

THIS resume (the fifteenth annual one published in *The Crisis*), following the practice adopted by its compiler in the previous ones, notices all books and pamphlets in English by colored authors published in 1950 that have come to his attention. It includes a few that appeared in 1949 which he saw too late to include in last year's resume. It is obviously incomplete and, as heretofore, omits mention of works in foreign languages, some of which are important. No comments are made on books that have been reviewed in *The Crisis* (other than to indicate where such reviews may be found), or to the separately listed pamphlets.

I. BOOKS

ABRAHAMS, PETER. Wild Conquest. New York: Harper & Brothers. 309pp. $3.00

In this, his fifth novel, this talented South African deals, somewhat statically, with the great Boer trek of a hundred years ago.

ASTWOOD, ALEXANDER CARL. Beauty and the Universe. A book of poems. Boston: Bruce Humphries Inc. 72pp. $2.75

A volume displaying poetic vision and sincere reflection. It has considerable merit, but its author has not yet quite mastered his medium.

BRAITHWAITE, WILLIAM STANLEY. The Bewitched Parsonage. The story of the Brontës. New York: Coward-McCann Inc. XI+238pp. $3.50

An admirable study of the three Brontë sisters, their books, their father, and brother told with sympathy, freshness and vigor by a distinguished critic and poet.

CARNEGIE, AMOS. Faith Moves Mountains. An autobiography. Washington, D. C.: County Life Press Association. 114pp. $1.00

A short autobiography with particular stress on the author's endeavors on behalf of the National Hospital Foundation, Inc.

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN, *president of the NAACP since December, 1939, has for many years now been collecting books written by Negroes.*

CHUKWUEMEKA, NWANKWO. African Dependencies: A challenge to western democracy. New York: William-Frederick. 207pp. $3.50

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for May, 1950, at page 319.

COLEMAN, C. C. Patterns of Race Relations in the South. New York: Exposition Press. 44pp. $2.00

An examination of race relations with a suggested program which adds little to our knowledge of the subject.

CONSTATINE, LEARIE N. Cricketeer's Cricket. London: Eyre & Spottiswood. 269pp. 8/6

Another book on the technique of his art by the world famous West Indian cricketer.

DEMBY, WILLIAM. Beetlecreek. A novel. New York: Rinehart & Co. Inc. 222 pp. $2.50

The story of a lonely white hermit in the midst of a colored comunity told by a new writer who shows both talent and sensitivity.

DOUGLASS, FREDERICK. Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass. Edited by Philip S. Foner. 2 vols. New York: The International Publishers. Vol. I: Early years 1817-1849, 448pp. $4.50. Vol. II: Pre-Civil War years 1850-1860. 579pp. $5.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for November, 1950, at page 670.

DREER, HERMAN. American Literature by Negro Authors. Compiled and edited by Herman Dreer. New York: The Macmillan Company. XVII+ 334pp. $3.20

This anthology, intended primarily as a textbook, cannot be recommended. It is lacking in discrimination, critical judgment, and scholarship.

FORD, NICK AARON and FAGGETT, H. L. Best Short Stories by Afro-American Writers, 1925-1950. Edited by. Boston: Meador Publishing Corp. 307pp. $3.00

Short stories reprinted from the Baltimore *Afro-American*. A few have literary merit.

HERSHAW, FAYE MCKEENE. Some Aspects of Post-War Travel. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. 81pp. $2.00

The third travel book by this author: it may have interest for her friends.

HORNE, LENA. In Person Lena Horne. New York: Greenberg. 249pp. Paper $1.50; cloth $3.00.

An autobiography of the charming and gifted actress and movie star ghost written by Helen Arnstein and Carlton Moss.

HUFF, WILLIAM HENRY. Sowing and Reaping and Other Poems. Avon, Ill.: The Hamlet Press. 77pp. $2.50

The poetical recreations of a successful Chicago lawyer.

HUGHES, LANGSTON. Simple Speaks His Mind. New York: Simon & Schuster. 232pp. Paper $1.00; cloth $3.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for June, 1950, at page 377.

JARRETTE, A. Q. Beneath the Sky. New York: The Weinberg Book Supply Company. 151pp. $2.75

An amateurish novel of "love and murder among poor white and Negroes in the deep South."

JOHNSON, HOMER PRESTON; JACKSON, JOHN ROBERT; BAKER, ROBERT MILUM. Twilight Dreams. New York: The Exposition Press. 63pp. $2.50

Youthful verses by three budding poets.

KANO, MALAM MAI. Dictionary of the Hausa Language by Major K. C. Abraham and Malam Mai Kano.

Government of Nigeria. 992pp. £1, 1s.

The most comprehensive and best dictionary of Hausa, co-authored by a member of the Kano Native Administration.

KAYE, PHILIP B. (A pseudonym). Taffy. A novel. New York: Crown Publishers. 258pp. $3.00

"Philip B. Kaye" has obviously been greatly influenced by the writing of Richard Wright, but he displays little of his Master's genius in this gruesome tale.

KINZER, ROBERT (With Edward Sagarin). The Negro in American Business. New York: Greenberg. X+220pp. $2.50

A brief study, based on secondary sources, which attempts to assess the relative merits of separation and integration.

LA GRONE, OLIVER. Footfalls. Poetry from America's Becoming. Detroit: Darel Press. 37pp. $1.50

A first volume of verse by a gifted sculptor.

MAYS, BENJAMIN E. A Gospel of Social Awakening. New York: Haddam House, Association Press. 187pp. $2.00

Selections from the writings of Walter Rauschenbush compiled by Dr. Mays.

MCFARLAND, H. S. Passing Thru. New York: Wendell Malliet and Company. 120pp. $2.00

A collection of mediocre verse.

MILLER, HENRY. Blasted Barriers. Views of a Reporter in Story and Song. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. 140pp. $2.00

Prose essays on racial subjects interspersed with doggerel verse.

ONABAMIRO, SANYA DOJO. Why Our Children Die. London: Methuen & Company Ltd. 8/6

A study of the causes and suggestions for the prevention of infant mortality in West Africa by a native of Nigeria.

PATTERSON, HAYWOOD and EARL CONRAD. Scottsboro Boy. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 309pp. $3.00

An account of injustices and brutalities suffered by one of the Scottsboro boys, but badly distorted as well as left-slanted by his white collaborator.

PEYTON, THOMAS ROY. Quest for Dignity. Los Angeles: Warren F. Lewis. 156pp. $3.00

The autobiography of a doctor who spent much of his lifetime as a musician.

REDDING, J. SAUNDERS. Stranger and Alone. A novel. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 308pp. $3.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for May, 1950, at page 317.

REDDING, J. SAUNDERS. They Came in Chains. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 320pp. $3.50

Another history of the Negro in America. It makes interesting reading and has been favorably reviewed generally, yet it is neither objective nor exhaustive and is often inaccurate.

ROBINSON, JAMES H. Road Without Turning. The story of Rev. James H. Robinson. An autobiography. New York: Farrar, Straus & Company. 312pp. $3.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for December, 1950, at page 740.

SMITH, WILLIAM GARDNER. Anger at Innocence. New York: Farrar, Straus & Company. 300pp. $3.00

The love story of two white slum dwellers in South Philadelphia, skil-

fully written. It fails, however, to fulfill the great promise of his earlier *Last of the Conquerers.*

TARRY, ELLEN. The Runaway Elephant. Pictures by Oliver Harrington. New York: The Viking Press. 40pp. $1.50

Further adventures of Harlem's Hezekiah Morton, gaily illustrated. Warmly recommended for youngsters from 6 to 9.

WATERS, ARCHIE and CLYDE BLACK. The Secret of Spanish Pool Checkers. Book II (The secret games). New York and Brooklyn: The authors. 173pp. $2.50

The second and final volume of this manual for checker enthusiasts.

WILSON, CHARLES H., SR. God! Make Me a Man. Boston: Meador Publishing Company. 61pp. $1.00

A short uncritical sketch of Dr. Sidney Dillon Redmond.

WINSTON, BESSIE BRENT. Life's Red Sea. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

Poems by the author of *Alabaster Boxes,* with an introduction by Georgia Douglass Johnson.

WRIGHT, RICHARD, with others. The God That Failed. Edited by Richard Crossman. New York: Harper & Brothers. 273 pp. $3.50

Confessions by six intellectuals, four of them ex-party members and two former sympathizers, describing their journey with communism and their later repudiation. Wright's 48 page contribution is both brilliant and illuminating.

YERBY, FRANK. Floodtide. A novel. New York: Dial Press. 342pp. $3.00

The fifth novel in five years by this amazing author. Each and every one of these books has been a best seller.

Connecticut: New Haven.

II. PAMPHLETS

Among the pamphlets seen by the compiler in 1950, *the following may be noted:*

CALIVER, AMBROSE. Fifty Years of Progress in Public Education. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier.*

CAMPBELL, T. M. Fifty Years of Progress in Agriculture. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier.*

CLARKE, M. C. Fifty Years of Progress in Negro Insurance. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier.*

COBB, W. MONTAGUE. Federal Aid to Medical Education. Washington, D.C.

——— ———. Remarks Testimonial to Dr. Ralph Johnson Bunche, Washington, D.C.

——— ———. Fifty Years of Progress in Health. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier.*

DAVIS, BENJAMIN J. Defence of Negro Rights. New York.

DU BOIS, W. E. B. 20th Century the Century of the Color Line. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier.*

GUZMAN, JESSIE PARKHURST. Some Achievements of the Negro Through Education. Tuskegee: Tuskegee Institute.

——— ———. Civil Rights and the Negro. A List of References. Tuskegee: Tuskegee Institute.

HUNTON, ALPHAEUS. Africa Fights for Freedom. New York.

IVY, JAMES W. Fifty Years of Progress in Literature. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier.*

JOHNSON, CHARLES S. Literature and the Practice of Living. An address.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON SPEAKS. Brooklyn, N. Y.

LEWIS, THEOPHILUS. Fifty Years of Progress in the Theatre. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier*.

MARSHALL, THURGOOD. Mr. Justice Murphy and Civil Rights. Michigan.

MAYS, BENJAMIN E. Fifty Years of Progress in the Negro Church. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier*.

N. A. A. C. P.: A New Birth of Freedom. New York.

N. A. A. C. P.: A Record of Leadership. New York.

N. A. A. C. P.: NAACP Acclaimed by Distinguished Americans. New York.

N. A. A. C. P.: Hands Off Democracy. New York.

N. A. A. C. P.: Civil Rights in the United States in 1949 (Published jointly with American Jewish Congress). New York.

N. A. A. C. P.: The NAACP Legislative Scoreboard (*Crisis* reprint). New York.

N. A. A. C. P.: American Rights for American Citizens: Annual NAACP Report Forty-First Year 1949. New York.

PORTER, JAMES A. Progress of the Negro in Art During the Past 50 Years. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier*.

REID, IRA DE A. Fifty Years of Progress in the Professions. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier*.

RICHARDSON, SCOVEL. National Bar Directory. Missouri: St. Louis.

ROBESON, PAUL. The Negro People and the Soviet Union. New York.

—— ——. Forge Negro-Labor Unity for Peace and Jobs. New York and Chicago.

ROSEMOND, HENRI CH. The Truth About Haiti and the New Deal Government. Col. Paul E. Magliore. Brooklyn, N. Y.

SCHUYLER, GEORGE S. Fifty Years of Progress in Journalism. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier*.

SOUTH AFRICA BEHIND BARS. Johannesburgh, South Africa.

SPAULDING, C. C.: Fifty Years of Progress in Negro Business. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier*.

THOMPSON, CHARLES H. Fifty Years of Progress in Higher Education. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier*.

WEAVER, ROBERT C. Fifty Years of Progress in Housing. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier*.

WHITE, WALTER. Civil Rights: Fifty Years of Fighting. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier*.

WILSON, W. ROLLO. Fifty Years of Progress in the World of Sports. Pittsburgh: *Pittsburgh Courier*.

DID YOU KNOW —

That "Guinea" as applied to a coastal region of West Africa is a corruption of "Ghana"?

Ghana (4th-13th century), a kingdom in West Africa, was so named by the Arabs, but the inhabitants called it Kumbi-Kumbi.

Acme

HELPING HANDS—*A policeman in Habana, Cuba, helps a youngster get into line as Habana's poor, adults and children alike, wait for the distribution of toys donated by the Cuban government on "Three Kings Day," the day on which they exchange Christmas gifts in Cuba. In the background is the presidential palace.*

Good News

Wendell E. Green has been selected by Governor Adlai Stevenson to fill the vacancy on the Illinois circuit court bench left by the death of Judge Thomas Lynch.

★ ★ ★

Sarah Vaughan and Billy Eckstine have set a precedent by leading the jazz polls of *Downbeat* and *Metronome* magazines for the second consecutive year.

★ ★ ★

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, represented their respective schools at Nice, France, at the founding of the new International Conference of Universities. These two presidents were the only delegates from American Negro colleges to attend the meeting.

★ ★ ★

The University of Connecticut chapter of Phi Epsilon Pi, a national college fraternity, has won its fight to initiate Alfred R. Rogers, a Negro student. Delegates to a special convention of the fraternity held in Philadelphia, Pa., in December, approved Negroes for its chapters on thirty-six college campuses.

★ ★ ★

Harold A. Stevens was sworn in in January as one of the two new judges of the Court of General Sessions. Forty-three-year-old Judge Stevens is the first Negro ever elected to this position in New York City.

★ ★ ★

James Harper has joined the staff of the Naval Ordnance Laboratory at Silver Springs, Md., as an aid in the ammunition division of the engineering department.

★ ★ ★

Geraldine Everett, editor-in-chief of the Hampton Institute *Script* has been selected to become a member of the 1951 college board of *Mademoiselle* magazine.

★ ★ ★

The staff of *The Campus*, one of the undergraduate newspapers of the College of the City of New York, has elected Vincent Harding, of the Bronx, N. Y., as editor-in-chief for the spring semester.

■ Read by author on October 5, 1950 at 25th Schomburg Collection dedicatory exercises, New York City

Prelude To Our Age

A Negro History Poem

By Langston Hughes

HISTORY'S long page
Records the whole vast
Prelude to our age.

Across the chapters
Of recorded time
Shadows of so many hands
Have fallen,
Among them mine:
Negro.

At first only
The spoken word of bard or chief,
And the beaten drum
That carried instant history
Across the night,
Or linked man with the mystery
Of powers beyond sight.
Pictures on stone, hieroglyphics,
Parchment, illuminated scrolls.

Homer's
"Blameless Ethiopians."

On all these rolls landmarking man,
The shadow of my hand:
Negro.

LANGSTON HUGHES, *the internationally known poet and author, needs no introduction to* CRISIS *readers.*

Aesop, Antar, Terrence,
Various Pharaohs,
Sheba, too.
Ethiopia, Ghana, Songhay.
Arab and African; the Moors
Gave Spain her castanets
And Senegal her prayers.

All this before the type that moved
in which Juan Latino spoke:
"Ad Catholicum-Pariter et Invictissimum"—
The shadow of my hand
Across the printed word:
Granada, 1573.

Yoruba, Benin, Guinea,
Timbuctoo and Abderrahman Sadi's
"Tarikh es Soudan."

Meanwhile Jamestown links its chains
Between the Gold Coast and our land.
Jamestown, Virginia, 1619.

But lately dead Elizabeth the Queen.
But lately come to throne,
King James, whose Bible is our own.
As Sadi chronicles his great

"Tarikh es Soudan,"
With Africa a link of chains connects our land.
Caught in those chains, my hand:
Negro.

Yet Boston's Phillis Wheatley, slave, wrote her poems,
And Washington, the general, praised—
Washington who righted wrong—
But those of us who had no rights made an unwritten song:

Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egypt land,
And tell old Pharaoh
To let my people go. . . .

Black Crispus Attucks died
That our land might be free.
His death
Did not free me.
When Banneker made his almanac
I was not free.
When Toussaint freed the blacks of Haiti,
I was not free.

In other lands Dumas and Pushkin wrote—
But we,
Who could not write, made songs:

Swing low, sweet chariot,
Coming for to carry me home . . .
Oh, I looked over Jordan
And what did I see—

Phillis, Crispus, Toussaint,
Banneker, Dumas, Pushkin,
All of these were me—
Not free:

As long as one
Man is in chains,
No man is free.

Yet Ira Aldridge played Shakespeare in London.
Frederick Douglass ran away to freedom,
Wrote books, made speeches, edited "The North Star."
Sojourner Truth made speeches, too.
Harriet Tubman led her marches.
"Uncle Tom's Cabin" swept the nation—
While we, who were not free and could not write a word,
Gave freedom a song the whole earth heard:

Oh, Freedom!
Freedom over me!
Before I'd be a slave
I'd be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord
And be free.

Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey
And thousands nameless went home.
Black men died at Harper's Ferry with John Brown.
Lovejoy, Garrison, Wendell Phillips spoke.
The North star guided men along the Quaker underground
To Canada—hills to cross, rivers to ford.
Sermons, revolt, prayers, Civil War—

Mine eyes have seen the glory
Of the coming of the Lord!

Lincoln:
1863.
Once slaves—
"Henceforth and forever free."

My Lord, what a morning,
My Lord, what a morning,
My Lord, what a morning,
When the stars began to fall!

Booker T.—

A school, Tuskegee.
Paul Laurence Dunbar—
A poem, a song, a "Lindy Lou."
Fisk University and its Jubilees.
Black Congressmen of Reconstruction days.
Black comics with their minstrel ways,
Then Williams & Walker, "In Dahomey," "Bandana Land"
Ragtime sets the pattern for a nation's songs
And Handy writes the blues
For me—
Now free.

Free to build my churches and my schools—
Mary McLeod Bethune.
Free to explore clay and sweet potatoes—
Dr. Carver.
Free to take our songs across the world—
Anderson, Maynor, Robeson,
Josephine Baker, Florence Mills.
Free to sit in councils of the nation—
Johnson, Hastie, Dawson, Powell.
Free to make blood plasma—
Charles S. Drew.
Free to move at will in great migrations
South to North across the nation—
Savannah to Sugar Hill,
Rampart Street to Paradise Valley,
Yamakraw to Yale.
Free to fight in wars as others do—
Free—yet segregated.

As man or soldier
Underrated.

The 10th Cavalry at San Juan Hill:
"As I heard one of the Rough Riders say,"
Wrote Theodore Roosevelt,
"'They can drink out of our canteens.'"

The 369th Infantry at Champagne:
To Henry Johnson
And to Needham Roberts,
The *Croix de Guerre*.

The 332nd Fighter Group over the Mediterranean:
To more than eighty pilots,
The Distinguished Flying Cross.

In the Pacific the Navy Cross to Dorie Miller.
Me, hero and killer.
(Yet segregated.)

Me, peacemaker, too—
Ralph Bunche
Between the Arab
And the Jew.

Du Bois, Woodson, Johnson, Frazier,
Robert S. Abbott, T. Thomas Fortune,
"The Afro-American," "The Black Dispatch."
All the time the written record grows—
"The Crisis," "Phylon," "Opportunity,"
Schomburg, McKay, Cullen, "Native Son,"
Papers, stories, poems the whole world knows—
The ever growing history of man
Shadowed by my hand:
Negro.

Other hands whose fingers intertwine
With mine tell our story, too:
Park, Myrdal, Sinclair Lewis,
Smith, Van Vechten, Bucklin Moon,
Surveys, novels, movies, plays
That trace the maze of patterns

Woven by democracy and me,
Now free.

And all the while
The rising power of my vote
Helping build democracy—
My vote, my labor, lodges, clubs,
My N.A.A.C.P.—
The National Association
For The Advancement
Of Colored People—
All the way from a Jim Crow dining car
To the United States Supreme Court—
For the right to get a meal on a train.

All the way from a Jim Crow school
To the United States Supreme Court—
For the right to equal education.

All the way from ghetto covenants
To the United States Supreme Court—
For the right to housing free from segregation.

Thus I help to build democracy
For our nation.
Thus by decree across the history of our land—
The shadow of my hand:
Negro

All this
A prelude to our age:
Today.

Tomorrow
Is another
Page.

DID YOU KNOW—

That Jonathan C. Gibbs was superintendent of public instruction in Florida during 1872-1874?

Gibbs, a Dartmouth graduate, put stability into the tottering Florida public school system.

★ ★ ★

That the New Orleans *Tribune* (1864-1869) was the first Negro daily in the United States?

Published in French and English, the *Tribune* was a daily only during 1865: it afterwards became a weekly.

★ ★ ★

That the so-called Seminole Indian wars resulted from the desire of planters to reclaim their runaway slaves who had taken refuge among these Indians?

Osceola, great Seminole chief, was of part Negro ancestry and his first wife was a Negro.

★ ★ ★

That Don Martin Enriquez de Almaya suggested in a letter to the King of Spain in 1574 that Negroes be prohibited from marrying mulatto and Indian women?

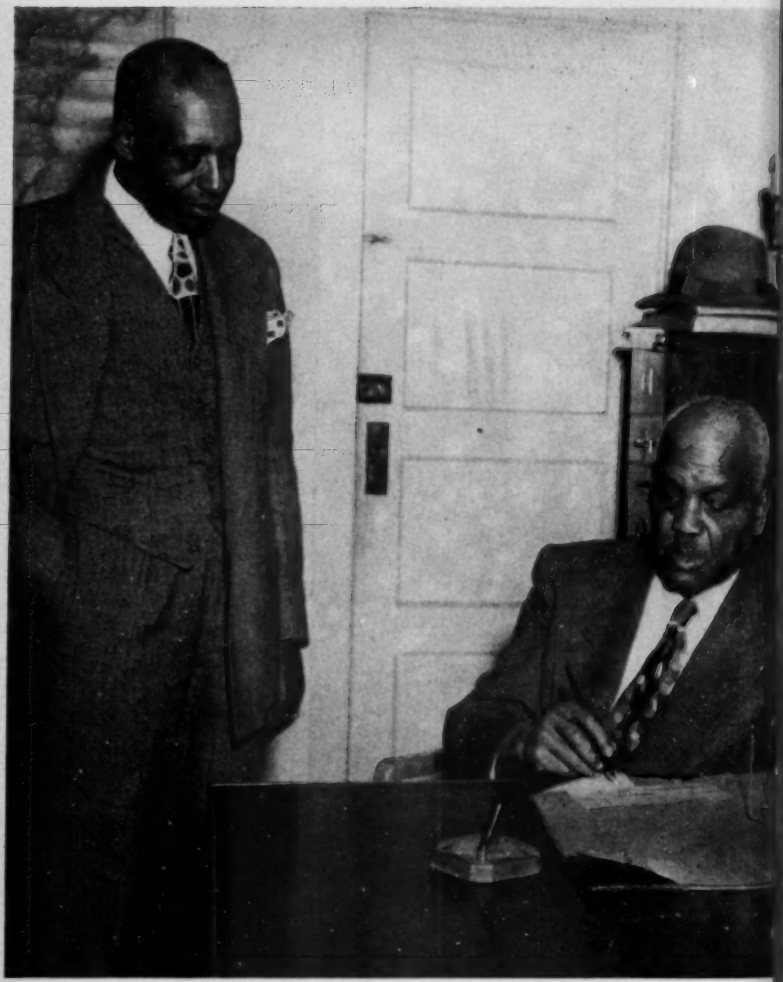
Acme

GETS CARVER AWARD—*Lewis S. Rosenstiel (right), chairman of the board of Schenley Industries, Inc., receives the annual gold award of the George Washington Carver Memorial Institute for 1950's outstanding contribution to the betterment of race relations, at the Park Sheraton hotel, New York City, January 5. Jackie Robinson, star second baseman of the Brooklyn Dodgers and 1949 winner of the award, presents the medal.*

Roland Mitchell

SPONSORED ELLINGTON CONCERT—*Mrs. Ruth Bryan Hohde (standing, left), chairman of the Duke Ellington concert committee, is introduced to prospective committee members at cocktail party in Crystal room of Hotel Brevoort, New York City. The party launched the benefit concert given by Mr. Ellington for the NAACP at the Metropolitan Opera House on January 21.*

FIRST DIAMOND *horseshoe box for Ellington benefit concert was purchased by Mrs. Christiane Halle (left) from Mrs. Ruth Ellington James. Purchase was made at the cocktail party given in the Brevoort on December 13.*



TAKES OUT LIFE MEMBERSHIP—*Reuben S. Street, prominent Kansas City, Mo., hotel owner and restaurateur, takes out a $500 life membership in the NAACP. His is the first individual life membership in Kansas City, Mo.; the other being from the Principals' Study Club. Mr. Street (seated) signs his check for delivery to Carl R. Johnson, branch president.*

■ What happens when migrant Negro farm workers are introduced for the first time into a predominantly white community

The Chico Story: a Black and White Harvest

By C. Wilson Record

WHEN the big fruit and nut growers around Chico, California, imported Negro workers for the 1946 season, they raised the curtain on a drama staged many times in the long and violent history of farm labor in the state. Some of the leading characters, the Negroes, were different, but the plot was familiar; its basic outlines were developed almost a century ago when Chinese coolies were used to do the work that no "self-respecting white man would do."

In 1946, as in 1876, the big growers needed workers— cheap, mobile, docile workers—to harvest the intensive bumper crops. The Negroes needed jobs, even jobs that only the unemployed, the destitute, the outcast would take. The growers and the Negroes got together, or, more appropriately, they were forced together by economic necessity. But white property owners, businessmen, and some workers opposed them. The resulting conflict, with which this article deals, displayed an unmistakable pattern.

Its similarity to the tensions surrounding the introduction of a whole series of race and national minorities into the California's agriculture was frighteningly apparent. One longtime student of state farm labor put it this way:

> If you want to understand what is happening to Negro farm labor in this state, then study what happened to the Chinese in the 1870's, the Japanese in the 1890's and later the Mexicans and Filipinos.

While an historical approach is extremely fruitful, it is possible to consider this development through another device. It is the purpose of this article to examine the introduction of Negroes into the California agricultural labor force by an intensive survey of a series of developments in a single, but rather representative California farming community, where few Negroes had lived or worked. That community is Chico.

C. WILSON RECORD, *who has done field work on migrant Negro workers in the Central Valley, lives in Berkeley, California.*

Chico is located in Butte county, in the great Sacramento Valley, about two hundred miles northeast of San Francisco. The city itself has a small state-supported college, and a number of small manufacturing and processing industries, including a match factory. However, its economic life revolves primarily around the large-scale fruit and nut farming carried on in the surrounding areas. It has traditionally followed a farming pattern, and the rapid growth of manufacturing in the state has affected it little.

NEGRO POPULATION

In 1930 slightly more than 34,000 people lived in Butte county. Some 30,000 were native white persons, 2,777 foreign-born white, 303 Negroes, and 887 other races. In that year Negroes formed only nine-tenths of one per cent of the total. By 1940 the proportion of Negroes to the total 42,840 population had decreased to seven-tenths of one per cent. In the Chico township, one of six in the county, there were only forty-five Negroes among the 17,000 population. Most of them lived in Chico proper and engaged in laboring and service occupations. The bulk of the Negro population of the county was in and around Oroville, a small railroad and shipping center. The heavy in-migration of Negroes to California during the war did not affect Chico and Butte county.

Chico is the principal city of Butte county. It has long had an Oriental population quartered in a small section. During the past two decades a small Mexican community has also grown up. Until recently the Negro population was inconspicuous in the social and economic life of the community. The major opinion-shaping forces are the big growers, local businessmen, the churches, of which there are at least nineteen, and a daily paper, *The Chico Enterprise*.

It was into this community that the big growers in 1946 brought from Richmond, California (near San Francisco), unemployed Negroes to work in the fruit and nut harvest.

Members of the Growers Farm Labor Association, a labor procurement and wage fixing agency of the larger growers, at a meeting in Chico on August 2, 1946, approved a plan to import from Richmond a minimum of three hundred Negro laborers for the 1946 season. This plan was developed in cooperation with the Emergency Farm Labor Project, an official agency established during the war to assist growers in securing seasonal labor.* The EFLP, with the assistance of ten Negro labor contractors, most of them part-time preachers, promised to recruit in Richmond and to transport to Chico the necessary number of workers as the season progressed. The GFLA promised to provide quarters at the Fair Grounds near Chico as well as board for the entire group. Each worker was to be paid a flat six dollars per day by the grower to whom he would hire out.

FEAR INCOMPETENCE

Officials of the EFLP present at the meeting indicated that it was not the policy of that organization "to tell growers what races they should

* This article will use the abbreviations GFLA and EFLP to designate the Growers Farm Labor Association and the Emergency Farm Labor Project respectively.

employ." However, Mr. Dennis Dalton, the EFLP Manager in San Francisco, stated flatly that the anticipated labor shortage could be met only by use of the Richmond Negroes. The regularly migrating Mexican workers, on whom growers were partially dependent, had arrived early for the 1946 season; rather than wait until crops had ripened, they had moved on to other areas. The Jamaican and Mexican contract laborers and the prisoners of war, important sources of man-power during the latter war years, were no longer available. It was only as a last resort that the proposal to use Negroes was made.

Some growers feared that the Negroes would prove incompetent and difficult to manage. Others thought that they would be unacceptable to the Chico community, "that there might be a lot of race trouble if more colored are brought in." Still others believed that Negroes, imported for seasonal labor only, might attempt ot remain in the community after the harvest, and "become a nuisance and a burden on us tax payers." Dalton sought to reassure the growers. He said that the Richmond Negroes were responsible property owners who were temporarily unemployed; they would be only too glad to return to their homes with the end of the season. He anticipated little community hostility.

CHEAP RACE LABOR

A local official of the EFLP assured growers that very careful selection would be made in Richmond, and that only experienced, well- educated, and hard working men would be referred. It is difficult to understand why ownership of property and stability of residence were emphasized in view of the widely known facts concerning Richmond Negroes. Few were property owners; most were relatively recent migrants from the South; practically all lived in the Richmond public housing projects. All potential recruits had been unemployed for a number of weeks or months. None would have been in the agricultural labor market but for dire financial need.

Convinced or not, the growers had no alternative. The almond crop was the largest in the history of the county. Other crops would bring exceptionally good yields at the highest prices in history. The season was only a few days off. They made the same decision as their fathers and grand-fathers before them: import cheap race laborers, use them for the harvest, and see that they move on when the season is over.

Scattered protests were voiced by local white residents following the announcement of plans to use Negroes. However, they did not portend the vigorous objections that were later raised, and the EFLP and the GFLA proceeded with the program. On August 7, Mr. Ray West, Secretary of the GFLA, reported in detail on a trip to Richmond, where he interviewed Negro recruits and arranged their transportation to Chico.

He spoke favorably of the prospective workers and assured the growers that they were experienced and competent men. According to West, 130 had been recruited, and more were signing up. The Negroes were scheduled to arrive in Chico on Sunday, August 11.

Some growers doubted that the Negroes could be retained since the six-dollar wage was considerably below the prevailing community scale. No change was announced at the time, however, and it was the consensus of grower opinion that Negroes would accept that amount once they were in Chico. Later it was found that this discriminatory wage differential was one of the principal causes of unrest among Negroes and led to their hiring out to non-member growers paying the higher rate. The GFLA members later agreed to raise wages of Negro workers to the going community scale.

LABOR SURVEY

On August 9, two days prior to the arrival of the Negroes, Mr. Joe DeBock, local representative of the EFLP, announced the results of a labor requirements survey conducted by his office. As many as 1,700 workers would be required to harvest the almond crop alone. Usually not more than 1,300 were needed. The estimate was higher than even the most pessimistic or optimistic grower expected. DeBock emphasized the important contribution the Richmond Negroes could make, but insisted that the shortage could be fully met only by a much more intensive utilization of the local labor supply. A wage study showed that the prevailing community scale was eighty-five cents an hour, "with most growers willing and able to pay more in the face of a tight labor market." This strengthened the determination of growers to use Negroes, in even larger numbers than originally planned.

The Negro recruitment program was stepped up, and the GFLA engaged Mr. Robert Smith as manager of the Fair Grounds Barracks. Smith visited Richmond and talked with some of the Negro recruits. Reporting on this trip, he said, "They are all pretty good men down there and have done a lot of farm work. They are all family men for the most part and we are expecting a very successful season with them." He pointed out that forty GFLA members had already filed application to hire the Negroes. More were being received daily, a good indication of the severity of the shortage as well as the anticipated competency of the Negroes.

By this time the earlier protests against importation of the black workers were crystalizing into strong and concerted opposition. Local merchants had met and apparently agreed to bar all Negroes from their establishments. Real estate dealers and property owners had considered ways and means to prevent Negroes from acquiring homes or other property if such an effort were made. The general community had been made apprehensive by a series of disturbing rumors.

VICIOUS RUMORS

One rumor was that all the Negro recruits were either thieves or ex-convicts, unwilling to do field work, but anxious to prey on white residents. Another was that only the most shiftless and irresponsible Negroes were being recruited. Still another, widely accepted by Chico business men, was that Richmond officials, by refusing relief and by other measures, could prevent the Negroes' returning to that city. It

was thought that they would become permanent residents and relief clients in Chico. Finally it was rumored that white women would be unsafe on the streets after dark, that to venture from the house would be inviting attack. The local chief of police received a number of calls from white women asking for police protection.

While the GFLA and EFLP had anticipated a certain amount of opposition to the Negroes and had sought to counter it in their publicity, they were not prepared for such an intensive and wide-spread reaction. Their earlier efforts to reassure the white community that racial patterns would be undisturbed, and that the presence of large numbers of Negroes was strictly a temporary matter largely failed. Even had they more accurately gauged community sentiment, it is doubtful if they would have altered their plans. For almost a hundred years the big growers of California have bucked, and bucked successfully, the non-grower community in using race minorities as seasonal workers. Chico was no exception.

On August 11 approximately eighty Negroes were brought in from Richmond and quartered in the Fair Grounds Barracks. This was some fifty less than the number expected; it was partially explained by the reluctance of some recruits to leave Richmond and partially by anticipated community hostility. Word had reached Richmond that the Chico community, in spite of the claims of the growers, did not want Negroes. As large scale unemployment continued and relief requirements were tightened in Richmond, workers found Chico prospects less objectionable, or their alternatives more limited.

"WHITE TRADE ONLY"

During the week following the entrance of the Negro recruits practically every business establishment in Chico, and particularly the retail grocery, clothing and restaurant places, displayed prominent "White Trade Only" signs. All Negroes, including those who had long resided and been "accepted" in Chico, were barred from such establishments. State laws declaring such practices illegal were ignored. They were never invoked by the growers, the Negroes, or others who for varied reasons objected to this particular form of discrimination. They weren't even mentioned. Other less obvious, but no less real, forms of discrimination spread.

Almost immediately Negroes began leaving the Fair Grounds Barracks, returning to Richmond or moving on to other areas and crops. Many factors were responsible: The Negroes' dislike of farm work, the hostility of the community, the longing for friends and families left in Richmond, and finally, the discriminatory wage being paid by the growers for whom they had to work as long as they remained in the camp. This loss of sorely needed harvest hands greatly disturbed officials of the GFLA and the EFLP, and they took more direct steps to maintain the supply of Negro workers.

They went to newspaper editors, public officials, businessmen and ministers and asked their support in combatting the anti-Negro campaign.

Russell Northrup, the local Chief of Police was persuaded to visit the Fair Grounds Barracks. On August 16 he issued a statement, fully quoted in the *Enterprise*, in which he sought to reassure the white residents concerning the Negroes. He said:

They [Negroes] are a stable part of the population down there [Richmond]. They have been carefully selected on the basis of character and experience.

I have talked with Ray West of the GFLA, and I have personally inspected their quarters at the District Fair Grounds. They are clean and orderly and we anticipate absolutely no trouble.

These fears are absolutely unfounded in fact. Chico is just as safe as it ever was. Any stories to the contrary are the work of rumor mongers and trouble makers. We expect no trouble this year, just as we have had no trouble in the past.

SECOND STATEMENT

In the same story the *Enterprise* also quoted at length another statement by Ray West of the GFLA. He explained:

The men [Negroes] originally came from Texas, Mississippi, and Kansas. They have been very carefully selected and there is no reason to expect any trouble. At present about eighty men are in the camp. They seem satisfied with their accommodations and the work. The Camp Manager, Bob Smith, reports that the camp is running smoothly and that the men received so far are of the highest type.

The workers are being recruited under the direction of the Farm Placement Bureau and the Agricultural Extension Service. Most of them are experienced farm hands and should prove to be good crews when they settle down to the job.

While such efforts to reassure the white community had some positive effect, they did not result in elimination of specific practices of discrimination, particularly those carried on by the retail stores. It was necessary for the growers and other groups in the community to take additional steps.

It was at this point that officials of the GFLA and EFLY organized informal committees to visit local merchants to persuade them to remove their "White Trade Only" signs. The growers argued that it was ultimately to the best interests of the businessmen to admit Negroes to their stores. Business depended on the growers and the growers depended on the Negro workers who would not be available if the discrimination continued.

Merchants drawing grower patronage were somewhat responsive to such arguments, but the majority, who catered directly to the urban white community, ignored them and continued refusing service to Negroes. One merchant put it this way:

My sign went up because my white customers indicated that they would not trade with me if I served Negro customers. I got thousands of dollars invested here, and I must form my policies to suit the majority of my customers. I don't like the signs, but what can I do?

Another merchant, a retail grocer, said:

I don't have anything against the colored people personally, you understand. I have known several in this town for years and we were good friends; they traded with me regularly and we never had any trouble. My white customers didn't seem to mind when the colored came in only occasionally. But

later they seem to resent it, and so I had to put up a sign. It makes me feel pretty bad when I see one of these old-time colored people on the street.

The local churches were induced to take a direct interest in combatting anti-Negro sentiment in the community. Some ten days after the arrival of the Negroes a special meeting of ministers of nineteen local churches was called. They drafted for submission to their members a resolution deploring discrimination by local merchants and pledging church members to act individually in persuading the proprietors to remove the signs. At their regular meetings on August 25, fourteen of the nineteen churches adopted the resolution.

On the following day the *Enterprise* commented editorially:

. . . It was a gratifying movement on the part of churches and their members. However, the fruits of the first step will be naught unless the public accepts the example set yesterday and acts in a way to make it possible for the restaurant owners and merchants to remove their "White Trade Only" signs. . . . The next few days will reveal whether or not the public wishes to accept or cast off this responsibility.

FEW SIGNS REMOVED

The result of this move by the churches on general community attitudes and on specific acts of individuals is difficult to measure. A few merchants removed their signs and admitted Negro customers and a considerable lessening of apprehension in the white community was reported. The Negroes remained skeptical and their movement from the camp continued.

The reaction of local merchants was mixed. Some thought it was a good move. Others considered it meddling in their business. One clothing store manager stated:

Why should these preachers go around telling me how to run my business? I don't tell them how to run their churches. How many of them have colored members- How many would open their doors to these Richmond darkies? Not one, I tell you. They talk all this stuff about brotherhood, but they don't do anything in their own organizations except pass resolutions. I remember back when this resolution was adopted. I know some of the biggest church members in this town, and I suppose they voted for it. But not a one came around and said it would be ok if I took on colored trade. Hell, man, I have to be practical.

White residents in Chico, as church members, wanted merchants to remove "White Trade Only" signs, but as property owners, they opposed the removal of restrictive covenants. If growers also wanted equal treatment of Negroes in the stores, they did not favor equal treatment where the payment of wages was involved. If churches favored admission of Negroes to all business establishments, the question of their admission to religious institutions was strictly a different matter.

OLDER RESIDENTS

Other groups also had to confront the problem presented by the Richmond Negroes. The reaction of the few older Negro residents of Chico was summed up in a letter to Mr. George Rencher, who claimed to represent the National Association for the advancement of Colored People. He wrote:

(Continued on page 129)

Editorials

EQUALITY IN NATIONAL DEFENSE

NOW is the time to get equality of employment in national defense. What we need is not just another executive order establishing a sort of wartime FEPC, but federal fair employment legislation with teeth in it. Both the Democrats and the Republicans are committed to such legislation, and President Truman offers them a powerful supporting argument in his "National Manpower Mobilization Policy."

Since we profess to be fighting for democratic freedom and equality, we can begin right now by practicing our preachments at home. There is no need for continuance of jim crow in employment. There is no reason why Negroes cannot constitute an effective segment of the nine million workers needed by defense industry and agriculture. Actually the only roadblock to their effective use will be the prejudiced employer. No one believes from past experience that such employers even in a national emergency, will abandon their prejudices. Only a federal FEPC can make them do this.

Of course, we do not have to worry about the actual use of Negro labor in national defense. The question is how will it be used. Negro manpower can neither be effectively nor efficiently used if it is going to be confined to the unskilled categories. What we want is the free use of black Americans at all levels of skill and experience, both in defense industry and agriculture. We want them to get on-the-job training where offered, we want them given chances for up-grading and promotion on merit. Nothing less than this will satisfy us.

Without fair employment and equitable treatment no minority can be expected to contribute its fair share to national mobilization, nor to evince much enthusiasm if it is not made to feel that it is an essential cog in the industrial machine.

VIRGINIA WAKES UP

WE congratulate The Medical College of Virginia on accepting its first Negro student in the person of 19-year-old Jean L. Harris of Richmond. We commend President William T. Sanger for his courage in living up to the best in the Jeffersonian tradition. Admission of Miss Harris to The Medical College of Virginia marks the first time a Negro has been admitted to a medical college in a southern state east of the Mississippi river. Edith Mae Irby of Hot Springs, Arkansas, was enrolled in the medical school of the University of Arkansas in 1948. The U. S. Supreme Court decisions in the Sweatt and McLaurin cases are gradually opening the doors of southern professional and graduate schools to qualified Negroes.

IS THIS WHITE CHAUVINISM?

THE use of racial epithets and emotionally charged phrases in recent foreign policy speeches is disturbing. We know that race relations in international relations are a reality, but we had thought that our leaders learned their lesson from the last war and the disgraceful episode of removing Americans of Japanese ancestry to "relocation" camps. And then there was Helen Mears' *Mirror for Americans* which showed that our pre-war relations with Japan were highly spiced with emotion and racial animosity. But it seems that the past has taught these men nothing.

Chinese become the "menacing hordes of Asia," "Asiatic hordes," or "followers of Jenghiz Khan." One American major-general recently referred to Chinese soldiers as "riffraff." Koreans are "gooks" and "five-by-fours." And such phrases as these fall easily from the lips of our soldiers: "We're here to kill Koreans," or "We can beat those gooks at anything."

Unfortunately there has been little difference even between the emotionally charged political "spiel" and the so-called sober, factual article or address. The learned statesmen speak of "the thousand years of western civilization" and express the belief that civilization is the permanent monopoly of one small section of mankind—European whites.

This is surely a strange way to fight for one world, peace, and freedom; or to express one's belief in the essential unity and equality of all men.

FOREIGNERS REACT TO AMERICAN PREJUDICE

DENY it as we will we cannot hide the fact that America's domestic racial policies create ill-will abroad. However, the reaction differs in emotional intensity as we go from Europe to the Orient. Europeans accuse us of hypocrisy, since they do not experience jim crow and personal insult on visits to the U.S.A.; Orientals, on the other hand, charge us with crass racism and insincerity out of their firsthand experience with white domination, either in Asia or in the United States.

Two recent comments, one from Europeans and the other from an Indian, point up this reaction. Six members of the German Civil Liberties Union made a three months' tour of the United States and then returned to New York where they met with members of the American Civil Liberties Union to talk over their findings. The Germans issued a joint statement in which they emphasized the fact that America's chief fault was her dealing with racial minorities, especially Negroes.

The other statement comes from Mrs. Kusum Nair, an Indian publisher, and appeared in the January issue of *Fortune* magazine. Mrs. Nair writes: "Nor can any amount of explanation justify the U. S. Negro problem to any Asiatic." Then she adds that Russia can easily exploit this chink in our democratic armor.

"The Negro problem" is a luxury America can no longer afford, for it prevents us from offering dynamic leadership to the non-white world.

Llewellyn Ran

NAACP LIFE MEMBERSHIP—*Dr. J. Leonidas Leach (right), of Flint, Michigan, president of the Flint branch and the Michigan state conference of NAACP branches, presents check for $500 for a life membership in the Association to administrator Roy Wilkins. The money for the life membership was raised by friends of Dr. Leach in Flint as an expression of appreciation for his thirty years of public service. Dr. Leach was elected to the national board of the NAACP at the 41st annual meeting on January 2, 1951.*

Dixie Without Magnolias

Herewith are a few excerpts from a series of articles written by Daniel Guérin for the Paris Newspaper COMBAT, *a leftist-liberal paper independent of any political party.*

M. Guérin is well known as a writer on economic and historical subjects. In 1936 *he published* FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS, *one of the early studies of fascism in Italy and Germany. In* 1946 *he brought out his two-volume study of the French Revolution,* THE CLASS STRUGGLE UNDER THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC: BOURGEOIS AND BARE-ARMED MANUAL WORKERS (1793-1797), *which Dr. R. R. Palmer of Princeton University says "will occupy a permanent place in the historiography of the field." Last year Julliard of Paris brought out the first volume of Guérin's projected two-volume study of the United States,* WHITHER THE AMERICAN PEOPLE? *We gives these details to show that M. Guérin is not just another French tourist but a serious student of social problems. He spent two years in the United States, and ten months of this period traveling in the South*—Ed.

His first article tells how Negroes were deprived of the vote, and how "Lincoln's formula of 'government of the people, by the people, and for the people' has become, in the South, a government of the whites, by the whites, and for the whites." Then he goes on to relate personal experiences with southern racism. He had employed a Negro as chauffeur-guide for his tour of Dixie and many of his harsh experiences grew out this fact. Here is one:

Some southern cities have very beautiful parks for white people to stroll and loll in, and where their children may play. But these Edens are not for Negroes, since they are not admitted. In New Orleans there is a museum situated in one of these parks; and when I visited park and museum with my Negro chauffeur, the faces of the whites were petrified with horror, as if I had violated the holy of holies.

Race mixing is not tolerated in hotels and restaurants. Even a university professor who wishes to visit a transient white in his hotel must take the freight elevator. You can therefore imagine some of the difficulties which confront a white man and a Negro (as in our case) traveling together in the South.

We would arrive in a city late at night and then we would have to set out to find a white hotel and a Negro hotel, and they would often be miles apart. And then we would have to take our meals in separate restaurants. We could never live together or eat together except when an occasional Negro hotel or restaurant would run the risk of extending us this courtesy. Sometimes the Negro restaurant owner would hide us in the kitchen.

At Dade City, Florida, things did not turn out so well. Thanks to a Negro's kindness we were put in touch with a Negro boarding house keeper who had two comfortable rooms for rent. But she refused to take me in unless I got the permission of the policeman on the beat. This policeman who was so shocked by my unusual request that he took me to his chief, who happened to be nearby in his patrol car. The chief's answer was no. I then set out alone to find a white hotel and a restaurant. Just as I was finishing my solitary meal a police officer picked me up and took me—it was 10:00 P. M.—to the office of the sheriff, one Leslie Bessenger. My Negro chauffeur was already there, for he had been arrested too. We spent several hours in the office under the evil eye of a husky armed guard who did everything he could to provoke us. Finally, my chauffeur (because his driving permit was not in order) was placed in a cell. It was in vain that I pleaded that a white man would not be arrested for such a trifle. Since I was white, they let me go. The next day, however, they brought in the FBI and the immigration authorities to question me very closely about my status and papers. Finally, everything was straightened out and we set out again.

I went at once to Tallahassee, the state capital, to lay my complaint before the governor, but I was directed instead to the attorney-general. So I asked the latter to show me the text of the law which prohibited me from renting a room in the private home of a colored person. He admitted that there was actually no such law.

'So if I had rented this room (which I didn't do), I answered, I wouldn't have been violating a law. If I had what would have happened?'

The brutal reply was: 'Perhaps your corpse would have been fished out of the river the next morning.'

In writing of his experiences with southern stores, M. Guérin says the only place where he did not encounter any segregation was in the banks: evidently, he says, on the theory that money and all those who handle it have no odor.

"Behind the sexual curtain," he writes, "the two races still mix with impunity—if it is a white male and a Negro woman; the case of the Negro man and the white woman being much rarer."

Southern prejudice, he says has contaminated the North and other sections of the country to the extent that "the Negro problem is no longer a regional problem."

M. Guérin's reactions to southern racism show clearly why the South loses friends and alienates people.

DID YOU KNOW —

That the 369th U. S. Infantry was the first unit of the Allied armies to reach the Rhine in World War I?

The 369th, called the "Hell Fighters" by the Germans, saw the longest service of any American regiment as part of a foreign army. The regiment never lost a man through capture, a foot of ground, or a trench, and the entire regiment won the Croix de Guerre for action at Maison-en-Champagne.

Llewellyn Ransom

HELPING NAACP OVER THE HURDLE—*Happy expressions on the faces of Walter White (left), NAACP executive secretary, and Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Virginia state conference of NAACP branches, reflects gratification at the check for $427.13 that Dr. Tinsley is presenting to the Association on behalf of the Richmond branch. The contribution, presented by Dr. Tinsley at the 41st annual NAACP meeting in New York City on January 2, represents an effort by the Richmond branch to help the national office through its present financial emergency.*

Fred Harr

YOUTH DELEGATES AT WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE—*These NAACP youth delegates attended the White House conference on children and youth, December 3-7, in Washington, D. C. Left to right: Myles Littlejohn, youth council president, Gaffney, S. C.; Faith Bradley, state vice-president Bucknell university, Lewisburg, Pa.; Albert Henderson, state youth president, Piqua, Ohio; Louis Bronson, president Morehouse college chapter, Atlanta, Ga.; and William Alexander, vice-president, Georgia state youth conference, Fort Valley, Ga.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

LEGAL

Marshall to Tokyo: Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, left the Idlewild Airport New York City on January 11 on the first lap of a 7,000-mile flight to Tokyo, Japan, where he will undertake the defense of the accused GIs of the 24th Infantry.

He arrived in Japan on January 14 where he began an on-the-spot investigation of the circumstances surrounding the courts-martial convictions of 36 Negro enlisted men and officers who have appealed to the Association for such assistance. He will also confer with General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, the Inspector General, and other top officials of the Far East Command.

In a press conference before leaving, Mr. Marshall told newsmen that "information from courts-martial defendants . . . and other sources indicate that the trials were an attempt at mass disciplinary action during the daily retreats which marked the early days of the Korean conflict and that such discipline was not inflicted upon white troops."

Argue Courts-Martial Appeals: In accordance with a recent announcement that defense of Negro GIs who have been victims of racial discrimination in army courts-martial is the number one item on the legal agenda of the Association, appeals of the court-martial convictions of four 24th Infantrymen were argued in Washington on December 15 by NAACP assistant special counsel Jack Greenberg. The arguments were held at the Pentagon before the Board of Review in the office of the Judge Advocate General.

One of the cases involves a master sergeant who was convicted and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment by a court-martial in Masan, Korea, for alleged failure to obey an order to return to the front. Information gathered about this soldier, a veteran of World War II with five battle stars and a record of exceptional bravery, reveals that he had suffered a head injury in combat which doctors state could cause considerable residual brain damage. He had been suffering from severe headaches and was given drugs capable of inducing a hypnotic state. In his defense, he asserted that he took several of these pills before the alleged offense was committed, and was ill and not aware of having been given the order he is charged with disobeying.

Another of the defendants whose appeal the NAACP is handling is a private first class who was sentenced to life imprisonment for failure to obey an order given him by a warrant officer. This GI was a prisoner at

the time, and would not have been able to obey the order, given him by an officer not empowered to release him from his confinement.

Groveland Case: Argument of the appeal of the widely-publicized Groveland, Florida, case in the U. S. Supreme Court has been set for this month, February.

The case involves the appeals of Samuel Shepherd and Walter Irvin, whose conviction on a rape charge and death sentence was upheld by the Florida Supreme Court on July 5, 1950. A third defendant, Charles Greenlee, was sentenced to life imprisonment and did not participate in the appeal.

The NAACP, in appealing the conviction of Shepherd and Irvin, is challenging the system of racial proportional jury representation used in Lake county, Florida. In their petition asking the Supreme Court to review the case, NAACP attorneys also charged that the original trial of the defendants was unfair because Judge T. J. Futch had refused to grant a motion for continuance (which would have allowed the defense more time to prepare its case and summon witnesses), and a motion for change of venue (which would have moved the trial to a place away from the atmosphere of violence which plagued Lake County at the time).

Trenton Six: Raymond Pace Alexander of Philadelphia will head the defense of Horace Wilson and John McKenzie, two of the "Trenton Six" who have asked the NAACP for assistance. Associated with Mr. Alexander will be Mercer Burrell of Newark and Clifford Moore of Trenton.

The case, scheduled for re-trial in Trenton on February 5 before Superior Court Judge Ralph J. Smalley, involves the murder of an aged white man, William Horner, proprieter of a secondhand store in Trenton. Six young Negro men were arrested and convicted of the crime. Their convictions were reversed in June, 1949, by the Supreme Court of New Jersey, which ordered a new trial.

Although not participating in the original trial, the NAACP filed a brief as "friend of the court" in the appeal to the State Supreme Court. Following the Supreme Court decision, Wilson and McKenzie asked NAACP special counsel Marshall to represent them in re-trial.

The New Jersey state conference of NAACP branches, under the leadership of Dr. U. S. Wiggins, has undertaken jointly with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund to raise the sum of $10,000 for the defense. A committee has been appointed to launch a drive for this sum.

NAACP BOARD

New Board Members: Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, is one of three new members elected to the board of directors of the NAACP at the forty-second annual meeting, held in New York City on January 2.

Others newly-elected to the board by ballots sent in by NAACP branches are Dr. Jesse Leonidas Leach, physician of Flint, Michigan, and president of the Michigan state conference of NAACP branches; and Samuel Will-

iams, president of the branch of the Oranges and Maplewood, New Jersey.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, and Senator Herbert H. Lehman were re-elected to the board for three-year terms. Others re-elected were Theodore M. Berry, a member of the city council of Cincinnati and president of the Cincinnati branch of the NAACP; Rabbi Judah Cahn of Temple Israel, Lawrence, L. I.; Roscoe Dunjee, president of the Oklahoma state conference of NAACP branches and editor of the *Black Dispatch*, Oklahoma City; Alfred Baker Lewis of Greenwich, Conn., president of the Trade Union Health and Accident Association; Dr. James J. McClendon, Detroit physician and surgeon, and former president of the Detroit NAACP branch; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Richmond dentist and president of the Virginia state conference of branches; Mrs. Robert L. Vann, publisher and treasurer of the Pittsburgh *Courier;* Mrs. Lillian Alexander of New York, a life member and regular contributor to the Association; and Mrs. Amy Spingarn of New York, widow of Joel E. Spingarn, former NAACP president and one of the Association's original incorporators.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Kappa Alpha Psi: An emergency contribution of $1,000 to the Association was made in January by the national Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity at its fortieth annual grand chapter meeting in Kansas City. Last year the fraternity voted $500 for a life membership in the NAACP.

Mrs. Janet Rosenwald Becker of Baltimore, Md., presented a gift of $2,000 to the Association. Other contributions received include $100 each from The Frontiers Club of Baltimore and from Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Berliner of Beverly Hills, California; $75 from James Ackerman, American Academy, Rome, Italy; and $50 each from Johanna Volkman of San Francisco, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Helstein of Chicago, and the Norfolk District of the Washington and Virginia annual conference of the CME church.

Benjamin Kaplan of Cambridge, Mass., contributed $100 to the NAACP legal defense and educational fund.

DID YOU KNOW —

That the emissary of the Brazilian Republicans of 1817 to the United States was the mulatto Antonio Gonçalves da Cruz?

Cruz, known familiarly as "Cabugá," was a wealthy, cultivated citizen of Recife who was active in the republican revolution of Pernambuco. He was widely traveled in Europe, active in the local Masonic lodge which cloaked the rebels, entertained liberal foreigners in his home, and made his large library and picture collection available to all who wanted to use them. He is called "one of the founders of the liberty of his country."

Wide World

SERETSE AND FAMILY AT CHARITY PARTY—*Among the guests at the 77 Club's third annual Christmas party at the YWCA building in Great Russell Street, London, England, on December 16, was Jacqueline, daughter of Ruth and exiled chief Seretse Khama. Ruth holds Jacqueline up to inspect the Christmas cake at the charity attended by 350 children. Of the children 270 were colored, 55 were English, and 25 were the children of displaced persons in a refugee camp at Duderstatt, Germany.*

DID YOU KNOW —

That the first great Brazilian sculptor and architect was the mulatto Antonio Francisco Lisboa? (1730-1814)

Lisboa, known as Aleijadinho or the little cripple, was the center for a whole school of colonial art. José Mariano Filho calls him the greatest Brazilian artist. His carvings may still be seen in the churches of Ouro Preto, Marianna, Sabará, and other towns.

What the Branches Are Doing

MRS. JUANITA DICKS, *secretary of the Camden, N. J., branch of the NAACP.*

California: Joseph H. Dixon, Jr., a local insurance agent, has been re-elected president of the FRESNO branch. Other officers are J. A. Gregory, vice-president; Mrs. Rosa Lee Kelley, secretary; Mrs. Doretha Williams, assistant secretary; Carla Weaver, corresponding secretary; and Sam Hannibal, treasurer and finance chairman. Committee chairmen are as follows: Mrs. Ethel Garner, membership; George Roth, legal redress; Lester Mims, legislation; W. S. Wright, labor and industry; Clara White, education; J. M. Mayo, entertainment; Charles Session, youth work; Mrs. Mattie Gibson, community coordinator; Mrs. Dorothy Sumner, housing; Douglas Stout, veterans; and Jesse Perry, Jr., press and publicity.

The following were named as members at large to the executive board: Hubert Phillips, Lester Riggins, Mrs. P. L. Dixon, Mrs. Odessa Gregory, Wallace Henderson, and Joseph Tracy.

Indiana: The GARY branch conducted a vigorous campaign for a city FEPC. Letters and petitions were sent to white and Negro citizens of Gary by the legislative committee of the branch as a part of the fight. The letters requested support of the bill before the city council "to enact an ordinance on fair employment practice commission."

Minnesota: Annual election meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch was held on December 17.

New Jersey: Juanita Dicks, who is now serving her ninth term as secretary of the CAMDEN branch, has been appointed as a social case worker in the Camden welfare department for a ten-year period.

Oregon: Mrs. E. W. Smith, president of the PORTLAND branch during 1950, was named Portland's Negro first citizen for 1950 by the *Advocate-Register* poll of judges.

Tennessee: The members of the Alpha Mu Lambda chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity have entered an intensive campaign to support the NAACP in its fight to get five Negro applicants into the University of Tennessee. In keeping with this policy, the members of the chapter presented a check for $775 to Mrs. B. H. Netherland, president of the KNOXVILLE branch, to be used specifically to fight the University of Tennessee case.

Virginia: The Virginia state conference of the NAACP has announced that its current policy relative to the elimination of racial segregation from the public schools and colleges of Virginia will not be altered as a result of the views expressed recently by Governor Battle.

We are pleased that the governor concedes that "the admission of qualified Negroes to some of the graduate and professional schools of Virginia is inevitable."

The NAACP disagrees with Governor Battle when he says, "there is no excuse or reason for the consideration of the abolition of segregation in the public free schools of Virginia." There was never greater excuse or reason than exists right now. Time is running fast, and we as a nation can ill afford our continued blind indifference to a real danger that poses a more serious threat to world peace and security than even the "A" or "H" bombs. The economic instability of the South itself demands that the dual system of education be abolished.

The statement of Governor Battle that "in the public schools in practically all parts of Virginia, opportunities are equal" is clearly wrong. The con-

MRS. VIOLA ALLEN, *district director in the recent Philadelphia, Pa., membership campaign, who brought in largest number of members, is receiving a television set from E. Washington Rhodes, prize committee chairman during the campaign. The bouquet of roses was presented to Mrs. Allen from the City Federation of Negro Women's Clubs by Mrs. Marie Athey, president.*

clusion that they are in fact unequal has been reached in every instance in which Virginia Schools have been the subject of authoritative evaluation; as is evidenced by the final decisions in each of the cases involving Virginia public free schools, located in five widely separated geographical areas in Virginia; by the governor's own admission that inequalities exist; and by a large number of local school authorities. Further evidence that the "separate but equal" theory is a myth, not only here in Virginia but in all of the southern states, appears from the recent announcement of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

The NAACP believes that racial and religious segregation is a mental cancer and will continue to work toward its absolute elimination from all phases of our American life.

The NAACP reports that in the Pulaski school case the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia ordered that the county school board of Pulaski county and the superintendent of schools be "perpetually enjoined and restrained from the policy" of denying equal educational opportunities to Negro children on account of their race or color.

Ohio: The COLUMBUS branch at its regular monthly meeting on December 19 elected the following officers: B. E. Slaughter, president; William H. Brooks, vice-president; Mary Jane Patterson, secretary; Charlotte Greene, assistant secretary; and Kenneth Morris, treasurer.

Elected to membership on the board were A. P. Bentley, Julia E. Brooks, Anna Alexander, Lillian Allen, Barbee William Durham, Oscar Isbell, Thelma A. Jackson, Bessie Lee Banks, Rev. H. L. Peterson, Dr. John A. Davis, Edward J. Cox, J. Maynard Dickerson, Dr. Watson Walker, Herman Morgan, Dr. B. T. Mindlin, Charles Saunders, L. M. Shaw, Charles F. Spicer, and Samuel Stokes.

NEW OFFICERS *of the Sacramento, Calif, branch of the NAACP. Right: members of the youth division of the Nashville, Tenn., branch of the NAACP.*

DID YOU KNOW —

That Spanish kings often made entire zambo and mestizo populations of colonial towns "white" by royal edict?

Carlos III, for example, did this with the mixed population of Nirgua, Venezuela.

Your Dollar's Worth

TOILET WATERS

Toilet waters and colognes are economical sources of perfume essences for consumers. Consumers Union's consultant tested 41 brands for the quality of their scents, their stability, strength, and lasting power, and gave them overall quality ratings. The different aromatic oils and perfume bases used in a toilet water or cologne evaporate at different rates, which is why the odor of a product may change after it is applied. Experts advise that you put on a dab of the product and wait a few minutes before you do your decisive sniffing. Different types of scent also have different lasting qualities. In general, floral scents are relatively fleeting, while the amber ones are comparatively lasting.

Some floral odors considered "Acceptable" by Consumers Union were *Ann Barton* Lily of the Valley (Sears, Roebuck, Cat. No. —8 E 5666E) 83¢ plus postage; *Lily of the Valley* Toilet Water (Ann Haviland), $3.30; *Intoxication* Eau de Cologne, $3.90; *Tabu* Colonia, $4.20; Suspicion Eau de toilette, $2.40 for 2 fl. oz. "Acceptable" aldehydes were Gemey Toilet Water, $3; L'Aimant Eau de Toilette, $8.10 for 4.74 fl. oz. Some Chypre-Crepe de Chines rated "Acceptable" were *Aphrodosia* Cologne Extraordinaire, $4.20; *Chantilly* Eau de Toilette, $4.50. Prices are the averages of those paid, include the 20 percent federal cosmetic tax, and are for 4 fl. oz., except where otherwise noted.

TALCUM POWDER

Consumers Union's cosmetic consultant tested talcum power for a number of characteristics, among them spread, adherence, and covering power. In these tests many of the least costly powers rated as high or higher than the expensive brands. *Consumer Reports* lists the following as "Best Buys" because they gave the most in quality for the money: *Irresistible* Fragrant Talc, 12¢ for 5 oz.; *Bo-Kay* Orange Blossom Talcum, 12¢ for 3 oz.; *Cashmere Bouquet* Talcum, 30¢ for 4 oz.; *Djer-Kiss* Talcum, 30¢ for 3¼ oz. Prices include the 20 percent federal cosmetic tax.

YOUR DOLLAR is a digest of articles appearing in CONSUMER REPORTS (the monthly magazine published by Consumers Union, 38 E. First Street, N. Y. 3, and available by individual subscription at $5 a year). Product ratings are based on unbiased laboratory tests on samples purchased by Consumers Union in the open market.

College and School News

LEWIS A. JACKSON, *of Wilberforce State College, who received his Ph. D. degree from Ohio State University at the end of the fall quarter.*

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE reports the following activities: designation of the college as a testing center for the 1951 nationwide National Teacher Examinations; the

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inauguration of a short intensive course in secretarial science by the business department; and the holding of an industrial clinic by the mechanical arts division.

Two WVSC students are among the four students nominated from West Virginia to receive Fulbright scholarships. They are John Anderson, 21, and Carl Hundley, 22, both seniors and majors in French. Anderson plans to study French literature in France; Hundley, the French language in Belgium.

■

James Moss, an instructor in social science at DILLARD UNIVERSITY, was a guest speaker at the Tulane university school of social work in December.

■

Mrs. Floy Johnson, teacher in the department of music at WILBERFORCE STATE COLLEGE, was pianist for the Toledo, Ohio, symphony orchestra in the second of its junior 1950-51 concert series. Mrs. Johnson was selected as pianist after a series of auditions in which a number of artists participated. She is the first Negro ever to appear with the Toledo symphony.

■

In December, Mack Greene, director of athletics at Wilberforce, addressed an open letter to Kenneth Wilson, secretary-treasurer of the National Collegiate Athletic Association protesting against the holding of the 1951 NCAA convention in jim-crow Dallas, Texas.

■

Elbert Haynes, a blind student at LE MOYNE COLLEGE, has maintained a high scholastic record ever since he entered the college last

September. He is a member of the college choir, the college chapter of the NAACP, and the Lampados club. After he receives his degree, Mr. Haynes plans to do work among the blind.

■

With the announcement of a $75,000 conditional gift from the Kresge Foundation of Detroit, Mich., the BENNETT COLLEGE quarter-century fund has now reached a total of $136,550 in gifts and subscriptions.

In announcing the Kresge Foundation gift, President David Jones said: "It is with sincere gratitude and humility that we accept this generous and much-needed contribution. It is our first grant from the Kresge Foundation and it comes to us during our quarter centennial year as a challenge and an encouragement to continue and improve Bennett's program of Christian education for women."

Special guests at the college's "Living Madonnas" presentation in December included the board of visitors to the college from the Central New York Conference of the Methodist church.

■

The National Poetry Association of Los Angeles, Calif., has accepted a poem, "The Sage," written by Mrs. Katie Harding, a SHAW UNIVERSITY senior. The poem will be published in the annual anthology of college poetry, a compilation of the best poetry written by college students of America.

■

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ELBERT C. HAYNES, *blind honor student at LeMoyne College. The dog-collar and chain are part of "frat" probationary test.* *See page 118.*

finished their work at the end of the mid-year. Degrees will be formally awarded them at the annual commencement convocation on June 4, 1951.

Annual founders' day was observed at Lincoln on January 14, with an afternoon program, a principal address, a musical concert in the evening, and dedication of the $400,000 I. C. Tull residence hall for men.

■

George ("Big Bertha") Edwards

has been named head football coach at KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE to succeed Randolph Taylor, whose contract expires at the end of the current school year. Edwards comes to the post of head coach fully prepared, with a broad background of experience both as player and coach.

The college was represented at a number of recent conferences. President Atwood and Ellen Wilson, a senior, attended the White House mid-century conference on children and youth; President Atwood, Dean Ann Heartwell, Prof. Wright, Albert Pryor, and Miss Wilson attended meetings of the Kentucky Welfare Association held in Louisville, Ky.; and Ruth Moseley was main speaker at the Blue Grass Area Y-Teen conference.

■

Seven LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.) students have been accepted for inclusion in the 1951 edition of "Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities." They are Ernest Hill, Smith Haynes, James Gibbs, Leroy Giles, John Jackson, William Minter, and Lovevine Freamon.

The Lincoln players gave something new in Shakespearian production when they staged *Julius Caesar* in West African ceremonial costumes rather than in the traditional togas or the modern dress of the Orson Welles productions. Given in their new arena-theatre, the players attempted to return to the simplicity of the stage in Shakespeare's day, with the audience surrounding the play on three sides and a minimum of elaborate scenery.

Ernest Hill and Smith Haynes,

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seniors from New York, played the major roles of "Brutus" and "Cassius." Two Cheyney state college coeds, Jacqueline Crumley and Alice Johnson, both of Philadelphia, played the roles of "Calpurnia" and "Portia."

■

TENNESEE STATE COLLEGE's Mrs. Henry Hardy is one of three Negroes who represented the American Teachers Association in Habana, Cuba, December 18-January 2, in exercises and meetings held in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the public school system in Cuba.

One of the largest private libraries on social work has just been bequeathed to the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY school of social work by the late John M. Glenn, general director emeritus of the Russell Sage Foundation and a former president of the National Conference of Social Work.

■

Honor day was observed at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE on December 1, with Dr. Mary L. Reddick, chairman of the department of biology, as the main speaker. She suggested means of improving scholastic standing in college and pointed out the necessity of maintaining an excellent scholastic record even though the call to the armed services is imminent.

According to records in the dean's office, 66 Morehouse students qualified for the honor roll for the first semester of 1950-51. The listing, however, is based on work done during the last semester of 1949-50. To qualify, a student has to carry a

minimum of 12 semester hours and maintain an average grade of "B" or above, with no grade below "C." Scholarships were awarded to the three top students in each class.

Ezra Davidson, a freshman from Water Valley, Miss., won in the finals for a $600 scholarship award. He won out over sixteen competitors.

Morehouse college graduates continue to rate high in the nation's graduate schools, according to the findings from a questionnaire sent out recently to some nineteen universities and graduate schools in which 49 recent Morehouse graduates were enrolled during the last several years. About 90 percent of the men under consideration were doing acceptable work; 25 percent were doing excellent work; and about 29 percent were doing work judged to be "very good" or "good."

The college sophomore class, on December 8, paid tribute to the college faculty in a special chapel service at Sale hall. Tribute was paid the teachers for their training, their patience, their unselfishness, and their wise leadership in the development of fine qualities and scholarship in the young men in their charge.

Two campus visitors who addressed Morehouse students were Mrs. Ki Poong Lee, wife of the mayor of Seoul, Korea, Paul Macey of the University of Chicago, and Charles Henry Brent, a lecturer on church unity.

■

President Florence Read of SPELMAN COLLEGE has announced that the largest gift from any Spelman alumna to the gymnasium fund came in December when Mrs. Ada

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MRS. RUBY HURLEY *(second from left), NAACP youth director, explains objectives of NAACP youth councils to President R. V. Moore, sponsors and officers of the Bethune-Cookman, Fla., college youth council.*

Purdue Mitchell of Birmingham, Ala., gave a check for $1,000. Mrs. Mitchell is a former teacher in the public school system of Birmingham, and is prominent in the civic and social life of that city.

■

FISK UNIVERITY recently received a $4500 grant from the John Hay Whitney Foundation for a series of special lectures to be spread over a three-year period and to be known as the John Edwards Rogers Embree memorial lecture. Mr. Embree, a former president of the Rosenwald Foundation and later a consultant to the Whitney Foundation, was a Fisk

MRS. HENRY HARDY, *of Tennessee State, who represented the American Teachers Association at Cuba's fiftieth public-school anniversary in Habana.* *See page 124.*

trustee and one of the university's best friends.

These special lectures will be made at six schools with which Embree or the Foundation was historically associated; the others are Yale, where he was secretary; Berea, which his father founded; Dillard, which he helped merge and bring to its present position; and Transylvania, the school which Whitney founded.

Fisk's Carl Vecthen gallery of fine arts held a showing December 10-January 11 of five paintings recently added to the gallery's permanent collection. The paintings were "Angel of Death," by Jesus Reyes Ferreira, a gift of Carl Van Vechten; "The Three Mary's," by Henry Ossawa Tanner, a gift of the Art Institute of Chicago; "Harlem Rooftops," by Jacob

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Lawrence, gift of Dr. Hugo Munsterberg; "Asbury Park South," by Florence Stettheimer, gift of Ettie Stettheimer; and "Dr. Carver at Work," by Bairnsfather, gift of the artist.

Dr. W. J. Faulkner, dean of the chapel, was guest speaker at the retreat for the New York area Methodist Ministers at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., December 14-16. Vivian Moon, Fisk student attended the regional convention of the National Student Association at Berea, Ky., December 8-10.

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Book Reviews

PARK'S ON RACE

Race and Culture. **Robert E. Park. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950. XXII+403 pp. $5.00.**

Robert E. Park is one of the immortals in American sociological science and his impressions have been indelibly imprinted upon the world that has developed since he emerged as a scholar, researcher, and interpreter of human society in 1913, when he was nearly fifty years of age. Much that he did was, however, of tremendous practical import but because his life was enshrouded in academic environs the significance of what he accomplished did not receive wide acclaim outside of learned circles. But today, through the numerous students he trained and the individuals who had contact with him the results of his teachings and the findings of his studies are being put to excellent use in the attempt to solve some of the problems of the world. Among these latter, of course, none stands out more prominently than that of racial problems, which dominate the current thinking of mankind. Dr. Park envisioned this state of affairs more than fifty years ago and the fruits of his great mind have ripened and are available now at a time when intellectual nourishment of practical dimensions are so badly needed.

In *Race and Culture*, a first volume of Park's collected writings, are assembled twenty-nine articles, lectures, and forewords to books concerned with the contacts of peoples who differ in race or culture or both. The scope of the collection includes material on culture and civilization, race relations, racial attitudes, and what is sociologically known as the "marginal man." Because of Park's interest in the Negro (he spent seven years with Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee) a majority of the data here revolves about the colored American and many of his theoretical assumptions are polarized upon results unearthed in his researches into the history, role, and status of the Negro.

The premises and principles enunciated in these papers are indicative of the depth of Park's thinking and demonstrate the lasting validity of them because, of course, they were propounded only after careful study, long years of research, and serious thinking. Writing on the nature of race relations he understood that "the effects of education and dispersion in so far as they tend to increase the number of occupations tend likewise to undermine the caste system." The consequence of this is "to diminish the distances between the races at the different class levels . . . to transform the status of the Negro in the United States from that of a caste to that of a racial minority." He foresaw the implications of race relations on the world economy in that "all the deeper

currents of modern life run counter to a policy of racial or national isolation."

Park was deeply conscious of the results of the mingling of peoples and cultures. "Everywhere the intimacies which participation in a common life enforces have created new accommodation, and relations which were merely formal or utilitarian have become personal and human." Out of this development he realized the changing status of the man fartherest down. He saw that the change from a rural to an urban existence meant the eventual rise of the Negro, for it had caused him to develop an intellectual life and produce a literature; but more important in this respect, "in the city the masses of the Negro have gone into politics." Park was not remiss, however, in saying that since 1914 the chief motive turning the Negro cityward has been primarily economic. This increasing character of urbanity has completely altered the place of the Negro in America from that of a position below all whites to one of bi-racial organization in which "the races look across" at each other from co-positions in every occupational and professional grouping. He did not see, however, that even this framework must necessarily be revamped to fit into a pattern resting on democratic principles, a pattern which must result in a fusion of peoples and cultures, so that there will be no gazing across, but an intermingling of attitudes and thoughts and all else that make for an integrated political whole — the complete assimilation of the Negro into our social fabric.

And Park was not infallible in his deductions. Writing in 1939, he believed that in speaking of the race problem in South Africa, "it is to the relations existing between the English and the native Dutch or Africanders that this expression refers." How he ever arrived at this conclusion is hard to understand, for since the mid-1830's, when the Boers made their great trek, their deepest racial hatred and undying animosity have been turned towards the Bantu and all non-whites, as the infamous Malan government Group Areas Bill concretely portrays today. From time immemorial, the South African whites have ordained that non-whites belong to a lower order of things and must ever remain so, employing measures of cruelty and illogicality that put to shame some of the anti-Negro practices found in our own southern states.

Again, considering that he lived and studied for seven years in the black belt of the Deep South, he arrived at a unique conclusion at odds with all historical and sociological fact. He believed that the fear of political domination of the Negro by the whites resulted in "the emancipation of the poor white man. It gave him an equality with the planter aristocracy." That this is a highly erroneous assumption is well understood by students of Southern life, and a glance at V. O. Key's *Southern Politics*, not to mention some of the authoritative histories of the South, will quickly reveal that the white southern aristocrat has always merely used his ignorant color-companion as a pawn against the Negro, and had no intention of ever looking upon him as an equal.

But these misinterpretations are rare and only indicative of the human quality that made Robert E. Park's works endurable. His overall insight into human nature and culture were unquestionable, for he vividly pointed out that "the forces which have been decisive in the history of mankind are those which have brought men together in fruitful competition, conflict, and cooperation." This review can give only a very limited perception of the richness of this volume. It is an immensely valuable addition of enduring significance to anyone's library.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

CHICO STORY

(Continued from page 101)

We, the colored people of Chico, feel very much hurt about the White Trade Only signs going up in the windows and business doors of Chico.

We have not given any firm any trouble at all. When outside laborers are brought in you brand all colored peoples alike with Mexicans, Prisoners of War, and Hindus.

We thank God that there are no signs on the gates of Heaven that read, White Trade Only.

The Richmond Negroes, as well as other groups referred to, were antagonized by this display of prejudice by another minority group member. The older Negro residents of Chico had few associations with the Richmond Negroes and generally resented the "outside laborers." A Negro man who had lived in Chico for more than twenty years expressed a widely prevailing attitude when he said:

Things used to be a lot different around here. We were only a few and we got along right good. We could go in the stores and we could get jobs without much trouble. We didn't think too much about being colored and I don't guess the white people thought much about it either. We couldn't do everything, but we could do a lot.

Now things are different. Just about everybody thinks you are from the South and that you are good just for farm work. We can't go in the stores like we used to. I know we colored people all ought to help each other, but it makes it hard on us who have been good citizens of this community for such a long time. I just wish these Richmond people had stayed down in Richmond.

There was also a sharpening of differences between Mexicans and Negroes in Chico. A Mexican woman replying to the Rencher letter wrote:

. . . One wonders just what he meant by saying "When outside laborers are brought in, then you brand all colored alike with Mexicans, Prisoners of War, and Hindus."

Does he expect to "advance" the colored people by trampling on Mexicans, Prisoners of War, and Hindus? If he, a representative of the NAACP, is racially prejudiced, why should he feel qualified to take Chico merchants to task for the same prejudice?

The writer then pointed with apparent pride to the fact that Mexicans were not being excluded from stores.

Not all Mexicans were hostile toward the Negroes. A Mexican farm laborer who had once been active in organizing agricultural workers said:

Mexicans have worked around here for a long time, and we don't like to have wages undercut. These colored have a hard time too; they are like us I guess; they can't do much else. Maybe they will join a union and treat everybody fair. The growers want all of us to work for nothing.

This point of view was exceptional among Mexicans, whose ideas frequently followed derogatory, stereotyped lines.

These attitudes of old Negro residents of Chico and of Mexicans had no wide influence on immediate developments; the decisions were made by the dominant white community on the basis of its own economic and social interests. They are important, however, as indicators of the multiple antagonisms that develop within and between minorities when there is competition for jobs, housing, and "acceptance" by the domi-

nant white community. They reflect a widely prevailing phenomenon in California because of the large number of such groups in the agricultural labor force.

LIBERAL WHITES

While most groups in the Chico community opposed the entrance of Richmond Negroes and accepted them only temporarily and with reservations, a few white persons felt differently. A high school student observed:

> Gosh! What is happening in Chico anyway? Signs in Chico stores saying "White Trade Only." It certainly makes my hometown seem almost alien.
>
> I can imagine how the colored folks feel, too, with many of them old timers of Chico.
>
> I am in high school and it seems to me I learned somewhere that all men are created equal and all men are created in his image, famous words these from Abraham Lincoln and the Bible.
>
> I hate to see our parents try to ruin all that we have learned. Freedom and democracy for all is what I think is right, and I wish all Americans had it too.

If the merchants or parents of Chico had any reply, it was not printed in the *Enterprise*.

Another writer, emphasizing moral considerations, but lacking an acquaintance with California history, said:

> . . . Why can't we accept these other races into our community without putting restrictions on their activities and enjoyments? Until they prove themselves undesirable in our community why can't we be at least half-way decent to them? The colored people that have recently arrived in our city are doing us more or less a favor by working in our almond orchards, and why should they be shunned upon in some of our stores? It is not our western policy to restrict our peoples of different colors.

Such attitudes were exceptional. Held by a few individuals, they could be implemented only in a very limited way. They were not shared, except verbally, by the people who ran Chico.

SIGNIFICANT OBSERVATIONS

It remains for us to examine the matter from the point of view of the Richmond Negroes. While we do not have detailed occupational and migration histories of those who worked the 1946 harvest in Chico, other material makes possible a number of generally significant observations. All the Negro laborers were unemployed at the time of recruitment.

A significant number were on relief or had made application for some form of public assistance. Prior to becoming unemployed, most of them had worked, usually as semi-skilled employees, in the Richmond Yards of the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company. All of them had migrated to California since 1940, the great bulk coming from three states: Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas.

The war-production jobs held by these Negroes had paid relatively well. The hours were suitable, the pay regular, and chances for advancement not totally absent. With the end of the war these jobs rapidly disappeared. These Negroes had great difficulty in finding others as the labor market loosened and as pre-war patterns of discrimination were revived. Like their predeces-

sors since the Civil War, many of them had migrated from farms to cities. Few had any desire to return to farms—on the West Coast or elsewhere. It was only as a last resort—after savings were exhausted, unemployment benefits consumed, and relief refused—that they accepted jobs as farm laborers. The choice to perform seasonal farm labor in California is rarely a positive one; it certainly was not in the case of the Richmond Negroes.

In Richmond these Negroes had been a part of a larger, though somewhat artificial, black community. In it they had formed attachments, acquired a certain recognition and acceptance, and established and maintained homes. By contrast, the Chico community was strange, hostile, and associated with evils of rural life, which they had sought to escape in moving West. There was no large Negro community, no group with whom they might readily associate for social and mutual help purposes. While they expected a certain amount of discrimination, they were not prepared for the bitter reception accorded them in Chico.

GROWERS PLEASED

The growers, at least for the time being, were pleased with the Negroes' work. There was no criticism of their desire or ability to work, and applications to hire exceeded the number available. GFLA officials, as a matter of fact, charged that non-members were pirating their Negro recruits, offering higher wages in an effort to "lure" them away. The conduct of the Negroes on the job and in the camp was exemplary. No incidents of attack, robbery, or thievery were reported. No disturbances resulted from the display of "White Trade Only" signs. Nevertheless, some groups in the Chico community continued to act as if a tidal wave of color was sweeping up from the Bay Area in the guise of a few score Negro laborers.

In all, not more than 125 Negroes worked on farms around Chico at any one time during the 1946 season. An estimated 225 worked at some time during the entire period. In 1947 Negroes returned for the harvest in even larger numbers; presumably the pattern has now been established and will govern in future seasons.

While the community generally opposed the initial employment of migrant Negroes as seasonal laborers, it was unable to erect any effective barriers. Opposition took the form of restricting Negro movement and employment within the community and limiting the places where they could live and trade. These restrictions are still in force and are likely to become habitual, even institutionalized, patterns in the future. The result will be, as it has been in the case of Mexicans, Chinese, Filipinos, an extension of caste lines and caste distinctions in the rural communities.

RACE PATTERN UNCHANGED

While the dominant white community is convinced that it is impossible to remove Negroes from Chico or prevent the return of seasonal laborers, every effort will be made to see that local race patterns

(Continued on page 133)

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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CHICO STORY

(Continued from page 131)

are unchanged. One white property owner in Chico recently remarked:

We didn't keep them out like we wanted to, but we are going to make sure they don't get any foothold. It isn't so bad if they come here when we need them, and then leave when they have done their work. You can put up with that if you have to. When they start moving in here to live, to attend our schools and our churches, then is when things are going to really get bad. Colored people are no good for any town. What I am afraid of is that in a few years they will be living here the year round and the first thing you know they will have kids to go to our schools.

Another white property owner hoped that "maybe we can pass some sort of law that will let the sheriff move the colored out if they become a nuisance after the harvest. The white residents are not reconciled to the growing presence of Negroes in the community. For the moment the economic needs of growers have prevailed against local race prejudice.

The experience of Negroes in the 1946 harvest around Chico was duplicated elsewhere in the Sacramento and San Jaoquin Valleys. Chico is not an isolated case, but an example. The "factories in the fields" of California are adding another marginal race minority to their peculiar labor force.

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